

Social Questions Bulletin

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Your and My Part in the Race Murders

Mississippi, a Negro boy, Emmett Till, 14, accused of killing a white woman, is illegally and forcibly kidnapped by known white men, brutally mangled, murdered. The white indicted for the murder are quickly acquitted by an all-white jury in an area where most citizens are Negro. Negroes with relevant testimony are intimidated and imperilled, offering testimony or remaining in the state. In May in the same state a minister of the Gospel, Rev. J. M. Lee, Negro, was murdered. His crime: registering to vote, not removing his name from the registration list. In August, a registered Negro voter was murdered in front of the house in Brookhaven, Miss. Before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Liberties on Sept. 17, Roy Wilkins, NAACP Secretary, said:

"In Mississippi, the guarantees of the Constitution mean what the sheriff, or newspaper, or leading town businessman, or plantation wants them to mean. Their interpretations of the Bill of Rights are enforced with the pistol, the shotgun, the blackjack, and lately, through state-wide Citizens Councils, with economic sanctions that deprive of employment, credit and homes."

Commenting on the Till murder, Mr. Wilkins charged Mississippi "has decided to maintain white supremacy by murdering children."

Our federal Constitution guarantees to the Negro citizen the right to vote and also equal justice under the law. But the federal government is not enforcing those guarantees. On the one hand, police agents have trailed and aroused Negro citizens who go to Washington or attended rallies to protest. It is the protesters, not the protesters, who should be trailed and arrested and prosecuted. The Department of Justice, the FBI, and many other concerned agencies representing us, should be ashamed. Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Mississippi Negro leader, states: "It's getting to be a strange thing that the FBI can never seem to find out who is responsible for killings of Negroes in the South. We find out why southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve one where a Negro is involved."

This shows again how we have looked in the wrong direction and feared, and restrained the wrong people from subversion to violence. Organizations advocating peace and constitutionalism have been branded "subversive." But our Department of Justice can sit on its hands, look the other way and do nothing.

White Citizens Councils and similar groups arise to subvert and block the Constitution and undermine life, liberty and business for Negroes; and foment an atmosphere for violence and murder. Mr. Brownell and other high officials have been made unavailable for interviews when delegations of protesters, the Till and other murders have arrived. Governmental censorship of assembly (contrary to the Constitution's First Amendment) is still against those who petition government peacefully to redress of grievances, who protest racial and other injustices and dissent from current policies and practices.

It does not suffice that we view with alarm, practice, and Bishop McConnell, in which we churchmen so easily fall. Let us speak to the federal officials who fail to enforce the Bill of Rights. They are our officials. The outrages took place in our country.

Criminals, lynch with impunity. We have responsibility. We have permitted our congressmen to sabotage for years the

The Methodist Federation for Social Action, an unofficial membership organization, seeks to deepen within the Church, the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solutions and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation stands for the complete abolition of war. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges. In seeking these objectives the Federation does not commit its members to any specific program, but remains an inspirational and educational agency, proposing social changes by democratic decision, not by violence.

urgently needed federal anti-lynch law and other civil rights legislation. Clarence Mitchell, Washington NAACP Director, reports: "Republicans and Democrats have united in a bi-partisan program of smothering civil rights legislation in the 84th Congress." The recessed congressmen are ours. It is our task to see or write them to get the necessary action and laws now.

Prejudice and hate erupted in brutal violence in Mississippi. They all spring from segregation, the system not only there, but over the nation and in our segregated Church with its segregated local churches and racial Jurisdiction. MFSA memorialized General Conference against Methodist segregation. Have you and your church group? This is part of the fight against the race murders.

This Editor has just visited the Pacific Northwest speaking in churches and colleges for peace, the Bill of Rights and equality. In the church-sponsored meeting in the Tacoma YWCA, Negroes in that far northern city told of the discrimination they face there in jobs, housing, accommodations. Segregation is American, not southern only. Before it came the north's slave trade, and the south's slave system. They were created and maintained for profit. Discrimination, making for cheaper labor, has also been profitable for some. But the claim of justice and service is prior to that of profit in the old Methodist Social Creed, in the continuing MFSA Constitution, and in the saving Gospel of Jesus.

Hope in the Midst of Peril

By JACK MEMICHAEL

These have been days of great peril. Man has developed power and weapons to wipe out civilization and organized human life. We have lived in a global cold war, an intense arms race, limited but serious hot wars, and the continuing threat and possibility of World War III.

The threat of war has gone hand in hand with the twin threat of an American form of fascism. The cold war and threats of hot war have been accompanied by corrosion and destruction of precious basic liberties. Appeals to rights under the First Amendment have not been sustained by the Supreme Court. Men have gone to prison for exercising these rights. Others have been convicted and imprisoned not for overt acts or overt for ideas they had advocated, but because juries were persuaded they would advocate those proscribed ideas at some indefinite future date. However free we may feel, the truth is other Americans have been without basic freedoms of expression and assembly guaranteed by the Constitution.

In the midst of these serious perils to peace and democracy the Methodist Federation for Social Action has consistently and persistently spoken and worked for both. As to civil liberties we have held, with the Constitution and with Thomas Jefferson, that they belong to all in the land, not merely to those with whom we agree. We have defended peaceful expression and assembly for all minorities, for communists, socialists and all others. We have held with Abraham Lincoln that to begin to forge or accept

Editorial Secretary's Annual Address, in summary, Tahoe, July 8, 1955.

chains for any of our fellow-Americans is to begin to forge chains for ourselves. Liberty, like peace, is indivisible.

The greatest and most widespread blow to creative and free expression and assembly has not been in the relative few who have been imprisoned or deprived of their jobs. Rather it has been in the much larger number who have been intimidated and silenced: the teachers and preachers and others who no longer deal forth-rightly with important moral and social issues if they are controversial.

Amidst widespread fear, silence, timidity, the Methodist Federation has continued without compromise to speak for liberty for all of our fellows and for peace for all the nations. Nor has the Federation confined itself to safe abstraction and generality, but rather has dealt in specific terms on specific issues.

This has all demanded courage and a price, to be sure, but it has also assured much satisfaction. There is special joy in this hour in the recent vindication of historic, specific Federation stands.

In the interest of the peace among men and nations demanded by the Gospel of Jesus, the Federation has long urged our government to meet with other leading governments at the top level to negotiate for peaceful settlement of differences. We rejoice that President Eisenhower is going to Geneva this month to meet for this very purpose with top leaders from France, Britain and the Soviet Union.

From the very introduction of atomic power into history by our government, we have urged that it be used exclusively for human welfare and life, and never again for death. We rejoice in the atoms for peace conference being held by scientists of many nations, including ours, next month in Geneva under United Nations auspices.

We have always supported the United Nations as an organized instrument for peace, and rejoice in the many reaffirmations of support for the U.N. voiced at the recent 10th anniversary session in San Francisco, by leaders from many nations.

Believing we are much less likely to hate and seek destruction for the people we know and understand, MFSA urged The Methodist Church at the last General Conference to authorize an official delegation from our Church to the Soviet Union in the interest of the reconciliation and peace the Gospel of Jesus requires. We have continued to urge such missions. Now we rejoice that the American Friends and Baptists are engaged in just such missions, and that serious study is being given to such a mission by the National Council of Churches. (Editor's note: Subsequently, an official Methodist Church leader, Dr. Charles F. Boss, Jr., of the Board of World Peace, visited the Soviet Union. The *Christian Advocate* published his report.)

We have long opposed colonialism and urged an increasing voice and participation as equals in the world by the peoples of Asia and Africa who have suffered colonial subjugation and inequality. We rejoice in the recent historic conference at Bandung where leaders of 29 Asian and African nations, despite many differences, spoke with unanimous voice against the arms race, for universal disarmament and against the further testing or use of atomic or hydrogen weapons. They gave a voice united against war and colonialism.

During the hot wars in Korea and Indo-China the Federation sought their negotiated end. That this was effected in both cases also vindicates our position and causes us to rejoice.

Nor is it alone in the field of peace that recent events have vindicated historic MFSA stands. We have long urged our State Department to support in practice the freedom of travel guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which we commended our government for supporting in the United Nations. Now this position has been firmly affirmed in the case of Albert Einstein's attorney, Mr. Nathan, and in the Appellate Court decision telling the State Department that freedom to travel is a basic right of American citizenship and denying that membership in an organization listed by the Attorney General is cause for abridging that right.

The long stand of MFSA against all racial segregation was vindicated in the May, 1954, unanimous Supreme Court decision against all public school segregation. There is much for us yet to do to remove the segregation in our Church and society.

A beginning has been made of late on the road back to our

Constitutional liberties. The recent Supreme Court decisions in the *Emspak* and related cases, strongly defended the Fifth Amendment against current misrepresentations, and opened the door to possible future decisions restoring rights guaranteed America under the First Amendment. The Court declared no Congressional Committee (the decision related specifically to the House Committee on Un-American Activities) had a right to abridge the Bill of Rights or to investigate in fields in which legislation is excluded under our Constitution. This has specific application to the investigations in the field of religion by that committee involving your Editor among others, and all such inquiries in opinions, expressions or peaceful associations of American citizens—which cannot be curbed by Congress or its committees under our Constitution.

The Federation's position against paid and perjurious professional witnesses has also been vindicated of late—not only by the confessions of Matusow and others, but by the adjudicated evidence that the same two witnesses who testified falsely against your Editor in 1953, testified falsely a year later against Ralph Bunche, distinguished representative of our government in the United Nations.

Thus we conclude there is great opportunity today to further the goals and specific program long advanced by our fellowship. We need unity on the things which bring us together for concerted study and social action, understanding of the great social issues before us, and courage to serve the truth we discover and know.

Like the writer of Second Peter 3:13, we can—despite all discouragements and obstacles, according to the promise of Jesus—look for new heavens, new vision and ideals, and for a new earth, a new actuality, wherein dwelleth the righteousness through which peace and abundance and freedom for all can come.

We can and must beat swords into plowshares, materials for death into materials for life and peace. But to move to the goal we must persevere.

In the words of Paul, "Let us then not be weary in well-doing, for in due season we shall reap if we do not lose heart."

THE GENESIS OF THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

By PROF. GEORGE H. COLLIVER*

Scripture — Exodus 3:7-10

The flaming thornbush before which Moses stood in speechless wonder marks the birthplace of our Judeo-Christian Faith and Way of Life.

The first word that came to Moses was, "Put off your shoe from your feet, for the place on which you are standing is holy ground." We know as the result of philosophical and psychological study that reverence is the first word in religion. Hence Moses received the first lesson. Man's most important search is for that which has value or worth and for us who are schooled in this tradition the Holy God alone is of highest worth, hence we worship. Man alone worships and worship is his most meaningful act.

The second word Moses received was, "Come, I will send you to Pharaoh that you may bring forth my people, the sons of Israel, out of Egypt." Paraphrasing this we can say that the second word in religion for Moses from his deity was, "Serve human need."

It is well that we see the primacy of the social implication of this faith of ours. There are those who challenge the social gospel, insisting that what is needed is the saving of the individual soul. They contrast a social gospel with an individualistic gospel and with a disparagement of the former.

Those who reason thus do not know the facts of history. It is a clear matter of record that the social emphasis antedated the personal and individual by at least six centuries of time—that is, from Moses to the prophet, Jeremiah.

With Jeremiah, for the first time in Hebrew thought, the individual with rights and responsibilities was recognized. The classic statement of the new individualism is found in Jeremiah chapter 31, verses 29 and 30:

"In those days they shall no longer say:

"The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge, but every one shall die for his own sins; each man who eats sour grapes his teeth shall be set on edge."

* Sermon-Address at MFSA Tahoe meeting, July 10, 1955.

on edge."

Evidences of earlier social solidarity, with its corollary of no-
ts for the individual, are such stories as that of Achan in the
nth chapter of Joshua where his entire family was blotted
because of the sin of the father. Or again, where the seven
of Saul were brutally massacred for the sin of the father,
old in Second Samuel, chapter 21.

The fact is that the individual was not recognized in the
y history of the Hebrews. The nation through "the instrumen-
y of Moses entered into relationship with the God, Jehovah.
individual Hebrew, proverbial "Man in the Street," had no
as.

All this is very clear in the statements of the prophets who
eded Jeremiah. With Amos, Hosea, Micah and Isaiah it is
ays Judah and Israel who have done evil in the sight of the
l. Individual sins, save in the conduct of the representatives
overnment, are not envisaged. And the doom that is foretold
ways national, not personal.

Moreover, the virtues in which the deity is interested are
al virtues. Amos' definition of religion is, "Let justice roll
n as the waters, righteousness as an everflowing stream."
ice and righteousness are social virtues. Hosea says, "I de-
steadfast love and not sacrifice, the knowledge of God,
er than burnt offerings."

Micah's definition of religion is, perhaps, the classic defini-
of all time: "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do
y, to love mercy and walk humbly with thy God." Here,
rly, social virtues are paramount.

Mr. Walter Rauschenbusch, great Christian prophet of the
y 20th century, seeing this great truth clearly for the first
e, exclaimed, "I now know that I had history on my side."
As we move from prophetic thought into New Testament
es the social emphases continue. John, the Baptist, in intro-
ing the Kingdom of God, said, "He that hath two coats,
him impart to him that hath none; and he that hath food
him do likewise."

Mary, the Mother of our Lord, in her beautiful song accom-
ying her motherhood, sings, "The hungry he hath filled with
things; and the rich he hath sent empty away."

Jesus, Himself, in his first formal utterance, quoted from the
phet, Isaiah, as to his purpose in the world: "He annointed
to preach good tidings to the poor . . . to proclaim the
eptable year of the Lord."

The 'Acceptable year of the Lord' quite evidently referred
he year of jubilee as outlined in Leviticus, chapter 25. One
e reads, "Ye shall hallow the fiftieth year and proclaim liberty
ughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," the very
e later was inscribed on our own Liberty Bell. Jesus said
had come "To set at liberty them that are bruised."

The year of jubilee was a thoroughly revolutionary idea for
olved not only that all debts were to be remitted, all slaves
ncipated but ALL LAND WAS TO BE RETURNED TO
COMMON POSSESSION FOR REDISTRIBUTION. The Hebrew
osophy touching land is expressed in Psalm 24, verse 1, "The
h is the Lord's and the fulness thereof," hence was not to
held in perpetuity. Little wonder that the American Negro
lave times extolled the YEAR OF JUBILEE.

Jesus sensed that His coming was for the sake of freedom:
complete liberation of man's body, mind and soul. And free-
is a social concept, a perpetual individual and social ideal.
Obviously, the social gospel is the original gospel and those
would suggest that it is something foreign or added to an
ividualistic scheme of salvation should review history. Lin-
observed that we cannot escape it!

R READERS WRITE

tevideo, Uruguay, September 6, 1955.

r Friends:

was on furlough in the United States last year at the time
the Guatemala Affair. There was a stir and fairly large head-
for a few days. Then the alarming "communistic threat" was
out of the way by American planes bombarding defenseless
temalan towns, a successful manipulation by the United States
assador resulting in rebellion by a few officers of the tiny

Guatemalan army, and the seating of Castillo Armas in the
presidential chair. Immediately Guatemala was forgotten.

But in all Latin America the Guatemala Affair, and espec-
ially the part played by Ambassador Peurifoy and other func-
tionaries of the United States Government, smelt to high heaven,
and continues to smell.

The Guatemala Affair did not begin with a shipment of
arms to Guatemala. It began with the amalgamation in 1899 of
nine Caribbean banana companies into the United Fruit Company.
In Guatemala this company first obtained a monopoly of Guat-
emalan steamship mail. Then it acquired ownership of prac-
tically all Guatemalan railways. Then great tracts of land were
obtained free on a 99-year lease. Some of this land was planted
to bananas. The International Railways of Central America, a
subsidiary of the United Fruit Company, charged enough rates
to outsiders to pay all costs and be able to carry United Fruit
Company freight gratis.

In 1919, the formerly German company for electric power
was ceded to American investors.

These three monopolies dominated and exploited the industry
of the country with old-fashioned colonial methods. Minimum
wages in 1944 were less than twenty-five cents per day.

In 1953, that minimum under the Arbenz Government had
been raised to eighty cents. Also some of the uncultivated lands
of the United Fruit Company had been expropriated and paid
for to the company by the government.

This was the "communism" that threatened American secur-
ity. The Guatemalan Workers' Party (communist) had only 532
members. There were four communists in the Chamber of
Deputies of 56 members. There were 17 communists in gov-
ernment employ. These numbers are insignificant even in a
small country like Guatemala.

One of the few really democratic governments in Latin Amer-
ica was that of President Arbenz of Guatemala. There was ab-
solute freedom of speech and press. Elections were democratic.
Like Mexico, Costa Rica, and Uruguay, which are not ruled
by dictators, the Guatemalan government was liberal, but not
communist.

For years Guatemala had been trying in vain to purchase
arms for its small army from the United States. Even purchases
in Europe were thwarted. Finally, the much-heralded shipment
of arms that did reach Guatemala was purchased from an Eng-
lish firm. Arbenz's minister of foreign affairs, Guillermo Toriello,
thinks that the United States Department of State knew of this
purchase and shipment and deliberately refrained from inter-
ference in order to be able to make a great scandal and apply
the "Big Stick" to Guatemala in defense of America against
the communist threat. Not only had former purchases been
thwarted, but another—this time from Switzerland—was thwarted
almost immediately after the one that made better scandal was
allowed to get through.

Ambassador Peurifoy's part in the Guatemalan Affair fol-
lowed the worst pattern of big-stick diplomatic colonialism.
Before the invasion on June 18th, he had said significantly that
he had his invitations ready for the Fourth of July reception,
but was keeping in reserve for the present his list of guests. All
during the fighting he was in touch with the rebels, while keep-
ing his diplomatic immunity as United States Ambassador ac-
credited to the Guatemalan government in power. He engineered
the cooperation of Honduras and San Salvador, the supplying
of arms to the rebels, and the defection of the officers in the
army. He was not above taking credit for the whole affair and
accepting the congratulations of Dulles.

Castillo Armas has duly thanked the United States, and the
United Fruit Company has received back its former properties
now cleared for planting. Dulles has called the affair "a glorious
victory." Guillermo Toriello wonders if Dulles didn't add to
himself: "another victory like that and we would be lost."

It seems to me that the National Council of Churches should
undertake a thorough investigation of the Guatemala Affair and
publish the results. If the National Council does not do it, then
The Methodist Church should make the investigation.

The study should include the part played by the United
States delegation in general and by John Foster Dulles in par-
ticular in the Caracas Interamerican Congress in March, 1954,
the appeal made by Guatemala to the Security Council of the

United Nations, the part taken by the United States representatives to keep the Council from hearing Guatemala's case, the facts about the shipment of arms, and particularly all the facts about the rebellion against the Arbenz government.

Probably the investigation and publication of the facts would be enough, though it is inconceivable that our Church should remain silent in the presence of such flagrant colonialism, once the facts are well established.

EARL M. SMITH, Federation Member.

MFSA MEETING CALLED

MFSA President Loyd Worley has called members and friends of MFSA and of its Executive and National Committees to a quarterly conference meeting with him on November 25, 10:30 to 4:00 at Calvary Methodist Church, Albany, N. Y., at West Lawrence and Morris Streets. Send your suggestions for MFSA action to Dr. Worley, c/o host pastor Wallace T. Vietz. Better, come in person and join in the discussion of MFSA business, current events, General Conference memorials.

One Memorial We Heartily Approve

We like the Memorial sent the forthcoming Methodist General Conference by the Genesee Annual Conference:

"We request the General Conference to make it clear to all unofficial groups that using the authority of Congress on one side of a purely religious controversy is both contrary to the Constitution of the United States and to the Christian requirements of brotherhood. We request that its (committees) exceed their constitutional grounds when they interfere in issues of religious belief and activity."

We suggest you get your Methodist neighbors or church group or MFSA chapter to join you in sending a similar memorial to General Conference. At the same time see or write your Congressman to get Congress to stick to the job given it under our form of government—that of making needed and constitutionally valid legislation. The Constitution forbids congressional interference with the free exercise of religion and the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the Congress, which authorizes and finances it at taxpayers' expense, should take note. Nor is the business of Congress that of propaganda, in which it engaged when the same House Committee published a distorted attack ("review") on MFSA just before the last General Conference and sent all the Conference delegates to produce misunderstanding, fear, repression.

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

As this is written the overworked Geneva spirit is being taken for a rough ride at the Big Four Foreign Ministers' Conference, in an atmosphere quite different from that of the "Summit Conference" which produced it. On the opening discussion of German unification and European security, both Dulles and Molotov charged each other with behaving contrary to the spirit of Geneva. One of the New York Times correspondents said the opening moves were "regarded as an operation in propaganda rather than diplomacy." Another reported: "The United States and British specialists are spreading word throughout Europe that the leaders of the Soviet Union do not want a European settlement."

The dissonance between the headlines and the actual situation makes it clear nevertheless that the

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acid test of the Geneva spirit is whether it can gain enough vitality to impel a start on the road to disarmament. It is rearming of Germany, and the Paris agreement to seek to West Germany into NATO, that block the road to both German unification and European security. A disarmed, neutral Germany, which we once pledged ourselves, would open the way to general disarmament.

That world issue revolves in a vicious circle. No first step in disarmament without mutual trust. No beginning of trust without the experience of some concerted action starts the undercutting of the suspicion, fear and hate generated by the cold war. The fear of unlimited destruction, progressive degeneracy, and subtle extinction of the human race has not been sufficient to produce this move. The required goodwill has not been created by the forces of religion whose mandate to that end is in the second great commandment and the golden rule. One joint effort of goodwill, even so small as stopping bomb stockpiling, or experiments during further search for effective prohibition, could break the present stalemate and start the course of events moving toward a warless world.

The longer the vicious circle continues, the greater the danger that it may be broken by sudden irreparable disaster, long as our policy is rearmament instead of disarmament; there is always the possibility that an act by a trigger happy ally, an event planned by one of our fanatical allies, or some move on one of the little wars now going on would start the chain of action and reaction which would bring unlimited destruction upon mankind.

The extent of that risk has been made clear in the recent statement to all the powerful governments of the world by an eminent scientific authority concerning the perils of nuclear war. After summarizing the evidence, their conclusion is, one knows how widely lethal radioactive particles might be flung, but the best authorities are unanimous in saying that war with H-bombs might quite possibly put an end to the human race. None of them will say that the worst results are certain. What they do say is that these results are possible, and one can be sure they will not be realized. We have for that the men who know most are the most gloomy. Here then is the problem which we present to you stark and dreadful, inescapable: shall we put an end to the human race, or shall mankind renounce war?

More than is the challenge of the leaders of science to leaders of religion. Will they put their forces on the side of abolition of war? Our fellowship did that several years ago. But what have we done to educate our members concerning why this is necessary and how it can be done? We have asked for immediate steps but have we shown their relation to goal? Have we put the pull of a great moral and spiritual ideal behind the push of practical necessity?

Spokesmen for our Board of Peace are now proclaiming that the ending of war is a possibility within a generation. We need to put the cooperation of all our members behind the effort to bring the facts which support this assertion continuously to our congregations. Also to raise and spread the objective of getting the next General Conference to proclaim the abolition of war as the objective of our world wide church.

It has been a long road to that end since an ancient prophet first had the vision of a day when the nations would learn no more. There is another hard road ahead before a warless world can be achieved. The occasions of war have to be moved. The causes of war that lie deep in the history and nature of man have to be uprooted. The moral substitutes for war have to be increasingly developed. First of all, the weapons of war into instruments of peace.

In its Evanston meeting, the World Council of Churches then asked its constituent bodies to use their influence to get it done, beginning with nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. Nowhere is this effort more needed than here, where the headquarters of the opposition to disarmament is located.